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NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

Labor Legislation and Philanthropy in Illinois.—When the first effort was made in England for the enactment of far-reaching factory legislation the only appeal on its behalf which would have any hope of fruition was the appeal to pity Gradually, not in England alone, but throughout the civilized world, another principle has established itself. Democracy has occupied the place of power, and to democracy the appeal must be made today.

Here, as in England, labor legislation has undergone a continuous evolution It is characteristic of the changing attitude of the public mind toward labor legislation that the present child-labor law of Illinois grew up in the short space of time from 1893 to 1897, and almost wholly without appeal to the sensational, emotional impulses of the community. Workingmen voters need no convincing. The legislators from the manufacturing districts need little persuasion.

I do not wish to ignore the fact that Illinois will still have horrors so long as the Illinois glassworks, at Alton, with its night employment of boys, and, in Chicago, the increasing numbers of boys in the stockyards and girls in the sweat-shops, continue to disgrace the state Illinois has its share of horrors yet; and there is an ample outlet for the activity and energy of the philanthropically inclined of the state in dealing with them.

There are no men in Illinois whose names are more respected than the members of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. . . . Yet, they it is who, by long continued, concerted action, obtained the annulment, by the supreme court of Illinois, of the statute which restricted the hours of work of women and girls in factories and workshops. It is due to the tireless efforts of this association that Illinois, judged by the statutory protection which she affords to wage-earning women and girls, ranks below Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Connecticut; below England, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Austria, and Russia; and, with the Carolinas, Alabama, Georgia, Spain, Portugal, and Japan, shamefully brings up the rear of the procession of the civilized states.

It is not accidental that in Illinois the efforts of workingmen frequently take more or less violent form. The men, themselves, are in no way different, nor are they striving after different things, from the workingmen of Massachusetts and New York. They strive to realize what has long been a matter of course in Massachusetts and New York. But they find no support in the law of the state. . . . We need but a glance at the history of their frustrated efforts. The truck act, annulled by the state supreme court in the name of the state constitution, is in force in New York. The weekly-payment law, annulled by this court in the name of the state constitution, is in New York not only good law, but it is expressly made the duty of the state factory inspectors to enforce it. The ten-hours law for women and youth, enforced in New York and in a dozen other states, is impossible in Illinois under the state constitution as interpreted by the supreme court.

With their memories freshly stored with this accumulation of baffled effort, it is not strange that the more direct method of the strike should seem to many workingmen more hopeful than the method of constitutional agitation for legislation.—MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY, in *The Charities Review*, September, 1900. B. F. S.

Strike of Harbor Laborers in Rotterdam.—Since 1896 there has existed more or less discontent among the harbor hands of Rotterdam. They have united in various organizations of mutual aid, etc., of which the largest, "De Nederlandsche Vlag," was said to include 1,100 members. At the beginning of the present year a movement was initiated whose object was the attainment of more satisfactory conditions of labor. A circular sent to the employers contained, among its most important

demands, the following: Discontinuance of night and Sunday labor except under a very considerable advance in wages (\$1.20 for work after 6 P. M. and \$4.80 extra for Sunday labor); further, discontinuance of the English system of weighing, whereby work was paid per unit of 1,015 kilograms, instead of 1,000 kilograms; payment of all costs of transportation to and from work by the employers, who were also to make good lost time and provide gratis accident insurance. The employers selected a commission of three ship-freighters to discuss conditions with the laborers.

Meanwhile, the original malcontents had combined with other similar organizations to form the "Federatie van het Transport te Water." A meeting was held and motions carried demanding immediate cessation of Sunday labor.

The employers had adopted a very conciliatory attitude and had yielded several important points, *e. g.*, discontinuance of the English system of weighing, free transport to and from work, etc. As for the insurance, many employers had long ago provided for that. The demand for entire cessation of night and Sunday labor could not be fully granted. For years Sunday labor in the harbor of Rotterdam has been done only exceptionally. The employers, even though they could not promise absolute cessation, indicated their fairness and desire to limit such labor by agreeing to pay the \$4.80 extra. But to pay \$1.20 for all labor after 6 P. M. was too much to ask—even here the employers tried to conciliate to the extent of offering to pay 50 per cent. extra for work after 9 P. M.

The workmen summarily rejected these generous terms; with them it was all or none, and the chairman of the employers' representatives found himself forced to disband his commission (June 28), as all further discussion seemed worse than useless. Sharp words followed, and matters were brought to a crisis. The authorities of the Holland-American line informed their employés that the ship "Sparndam" must be loaded by night (June 29); for this service they were to pay 50 per cent. extra wages for work after 9 P. M. The workmen, however, informed the director that they would not work except on condition of 100 per cent. higher pay, adding that they considered this night work quite unnecessary. The master explained that the directors of the line knew best about that, and warned the hands that absence from work would mean discharge. The workmen refused to work, and on the next day found the gates closed to them.

The directors now advertised for other hands, and the federation, making common cause with the aggrieved members, began a system of intimidation. Men patrolled the harbor in small boats, trying by persuasion and threats to cause such as were at work to desert. General cessation of work was finally effected. On Wednesday, July 4, all was still on the river.

By Saturday (July 7) the workmen began to resort to violent measures and destruction of property; wagons were injured, horses' bridles cut, and loads overturned. The police were powerless, and the burgomaster saw himself forced to seek aid of the military. Infantry entered the city (July 8), and armed ships and torpedo-boats were stationed in the harbor. But intimidation had been so effective that even under such protection the well-disposed did not dare to go to work.

The malcontents held regular meetings and exhorted each other to hold out, as the employers must yield. But the latter could not grant further concessions, and said truthfully that they had done all they could. The workmen now began to see reason, and gradually gave way, work being again in full swing by July 20.

The losses due to the three weeks' cessation of labor cannot be reckoned in figures. The workmen's organization itself suffered considerably; neglecting the payments from relief funds, the cost of steam-launch hire, etc., there was paid weekly in wages about \$120,000. Following the very lowest estimate, the total loss of wages amounted to \$200,000. Further, numbers of ships destined for Rotterdam turned aside to other ports. There was also great loss of capital, owing to the impossibility of moving ships; vessels in the harbor nearly doubled in number during the strike. All the anchorages and loading stations were overcrowded, and it will still cost much anxiety and money before the immense mass of goods now lying in the harbor of Rotterdam is properly transported.—*De Economist*, July–August, 1900 (49. jrg.).

A. G. KELLER.

Italian Anarchism.—Not many years after the execution of Agésilas Milano, for the attempted murder of King Ferdinand II, in 1856, Naples paid great honor to his memory; a monument was erected to him, and King Victor Emanuel was present at its inauguration. An Italian general pompously described the would-be murderer as a hero unsurpassed in ancient or modern times.

When we remember that one-third of the 150 regicides committed during this century in Europe and America were the work of Italians, we feel no surprise at the fact that Italy has never really execrated these assassins, and that often the strangely misshapen popular sentiment has gone so far as to place them on a pedestal of a Brutus. . . . Cæsare Lombroso, Enrico Ferri, R. Laschi, and other representatives of the Italian school of criminal jurisprudence, have raised this popular sympathy for political crime to the rank and dignity of a scientific theory; for, in their opinion, such crimes represent a social function, and are not infrequently symptoms of progress.

Crime usually manifests itself in two principal and typical forms—the savage, primitive, and brutal; and the refined, modern, and civilized. . . . Italy, unfortunately, holds the very first place in the criminal world for the first type, which might be termed atavistic, as her specific crimes are murder, robbery, and violence in all its forms. Suffice it to say that for every hundred murders committed in England and Wales, no less than two thousand similar crimes take place in Italy, or twenty times as many. . . . In Rome, with a population considerably under half a million, no fewer than 3,500 stabbing and shooting affrays take place every year.

There is a close connection between anarchism and criminal sects in Italy, and, indeed, criminal anarchism may be said to have derived its sectarian character from them and from brigandage. . . . Until quite recently brigandage presented certain features that could be invested with a cloak of romance, almost amounting to heroism, so that not seldom these robber chieftains were sincerely mourned by the lower classes, when captured or killed.

By an easy transition, anarchy took birth as the spiritual heir of this movement, and under the burning sun of the South there were hatched, as by magic, such creatures as Caserio, Angiolillo, Acciarito, Luccheni, Bresci, and others. In anarchism, as it exists in Italy, we are face to face with a strange social phenomenon, which enables us to study the effects of nineteenth-century civilization upon a secular Italian institution—for as such brigandage must be regarded. The result is a transmutation into anarchism.

One thing is ever present to the Italian anarchist, and that is the profound malcontent and dissatisfaction of all classes in modern Italy with a government which has undertaken a most disastrous experiment in state socialism, as understood by two leading German professors in political economy, Schmöller and Adolf Wagner. . . . There is not an Italian who does not attribute the terrible and profound financial calamities of his country to the mistaken action of the government. And it is difficult now to meet a young Italian of a certain degree of culture who does not style himself a "literary anarchist," or at least a "Marxian socialist."

Dazzled by the honor paid to regicides who, in hope of liberating their country from tyranny, attempted to kill the king of Naples or the Grand Duke of Tuscany, these anarchists, who have all the characteristics calculated to predispose them to passionate crime, still believe that they too accomplish a humanitarian mission in murdering a prime minister, a king, or a president of a republic, who represents to their morbid imagination all the responsibilities and crimes of a political régime which has become odious to the mass of the population.—G. M. FRAMINGO, in *The Contemporary Review*, September, 1900. B. F. S.

Trusts and Industrial Combinations.—This study of facts regarding industrial combinations embodies the results of reports made by forty-one combinations. Twenty-four of the forty combinations reporting as to date of organization were formed in the years 1898 and 1899; of those formed before 1898 five were organized in 1891. One was formed as early as 1865.

Probably the most important economic effect of combinations is to be found in their influence upon prices; next, that of their influence upon wages. The general result of the study of the prices in the specific instances where the margin between

the price of the raw material and the finished product can be definitely ascertained, and where the writer has sufficient information regarding the processes, so that the reasons for the variations in the prices can be adequately checked, seems to show that the combinations have in some cases had the power, temporarily at least, to control the market to a considerable extent, and that in most such cases they have used this power to increase the margin between the raw material and the finished product—possibly by forcing the price of the finished material up or by forcing the price of the raw material down; possibly in certain instances the power has been exerted in both ways. At any rate, the margin has increased, and with this, beyond question, the profits of the manufacturers. On the other hand, several instances to which attention has been called show that apparently this power is by no means sufficient to remove the combination from the influence of competition, either actual or potential, and that in a good many instances, within a comparatively short time after the formation of the combination, the margin has again decreased until it was as small as before the formation of the combination, at times even smaller. It is to be expected usually, of course, that as time passes improvements in methods of production will lessen the cost, and that, in consequence, with the same profits, the margin will decrease somewhat. If the combinations have been enabled to make the economics that their promoters ordinarily promise, this decrease in the margin would be expected, even though their profits were to increase somewhat. The fact that the power to increase the margin, temporarily at least, somewhat arbitrarily, and the fact that this margin has been increased in specific cases, seem to be clearly established. Here, again, however, one needs to be warned somewhat against too radical or too general conclusions. Those combinations that have been formed, for example, during the last year in a good many lines of industry have possibly been enabled to increase the margin mainly on account of the very strong demand for their products. In these industries the margin has probably been increased also to an almost equal degree by private companies who have not entered into any combination, the result in both cases being largely due to the extremely favorable conditions of business.

Taking all the employes together, the percentage of increase of average annual wages has been 12.61. The greatest increase has appeared in the case of the unskilled laborers; the greatest percentage of decrease in the unclassified employes, while traveling salesmen have lost much more in average annual wages than have superintendents and foremen, the figures being respectively 7.43 and 2.77. In all classes of employes, taking all of the establishments which have reported, there has been a decided increase in the number of employes; and in all cases, with the exception of the traveling salesmen, there has been also an increase in the total amount of wages paid. The traveling salesmen have received less by 3.57 per cent.

Some of the older combinations, whose dividends have been published in trade journals and elsewhere and are well known to the public, make high profits. The returns given in the schedules of the present investigation vary considerably, but in most cases as yet profits have not been high, although, as will be recalled, the stock has often been issued to some extent for good will. In most of the newer organizations, those formed in 1898 and 1899, from which reports have been received, the regular dividends have been paid upon the preferred stock, but dividends have not yet been declared on the common. In combinations where the stock has been all common, a fair dividend has been paid. When one considers that a considerable amount of stock has been issued for good will, and not as against actual property invested, these returns cannot be considered unfavorable from the point of view of the combination.—JEREMIAH W. JENKS, "Trusts and Industrial Combinations," in *Bulletin of the Department of Labor*, July, 1900. E. M.

Concerning the Intervention of the State in the Movement of Ameliorating Cheap Housing.—Is the state the only legitimate and necessary agent in ameliorating the housing conditions of the working classes? As this question has been discussed by the different schools, and has had the attention of many countries—England, Austria, Denmark, France, etc.—it has received different solutions.

On account of the extension of the functions of the modern state, and the possibility of formulating the question with greater clearness, it has been thought necessary to go to the bottom of the matter and analyze anew the doctrine and the facts.

I. The direct intervention by the state which the socialistic school formulates, whether looked at from the standpoint of the collective hypothesis, which is very indefinite, or from the identifying of housing with government service, mail, transports, lighting, sewerage, etc., needs but little examination. Public sentiment is for the preservation of the autonomy of the person and the family.

II. Regarding the intervention urged by those who believe in the constantly increasing function of the state it might be said: (a) It is unjust in itself because it exceeds the natural function and normal capacity of the state and the community. (b) It is unnecessary, since, in different countries, a great deal of work has been done along this line by private enterprise, which, as far as comparisons can be made, has shown greater efficacy than state enterprises. (c) Observation has proved that work executed by spontaneous action is superior, because it is more stable than that which can be afforded by any system under the control of politics. (d) It could not render service cheaper, because construction by the state is more expensive, and rent could be lowered only at the expense of the contributors, who, themselves, may be poorer than those benefited—which would be a violation of the principle of democratic equality. (e) It would cause the state, which is already burdened with duties that everyday are becoming more complex, all kinds of embarrassments; and, also, would overburden state finances with imposts and loans. (f) Far from encouraging initiative and spontaneous action of individuals or associations, it would discourage it by creating unequal conditions, and would sterilize their efforts by allowing the state budget to enter into competition with private capital. (g) Other special inconveniences and grave abuses would follow.

III. The state has a certain and important work in the movement of ameliorating cheap housing. (a) Having the responsibility of sanitation in general, it has also all rights which this responsibility involves. (b) State agents may have the authority of patrons or contractors for procuring housing satisfying certain exigencies, and for facilitating the accession of property by the family. (c) In virtue of this general function to urge on the natural evolution, they may promote and sustain the effort of associations and individuals in certain ways:

(1) By exemption from local taxes and national imposts; (2) by grants, and assistance in kind and money, thus propagating the reform; (3) by suppression of obstacles, by facilitating credit, by giving security of possession; and by granting the establishment of a patrimony of its own like that of a state establishment; (4) by improving transportation so that the laborer may live at a distance from the place of labor without too great expenditure of time and money; (5) by coöperation in the way of loans, and subscriptions under the direction of societies.—EUGÈNE ROSTAND, "De l'intervention des Pouvoirs publics dans le mouvement d'amélioration des Habitations à Bon Marché," in *La Réforme sociale*, September, 1900. B. F. S.

Women's Wages in Manual Work.—In the majority of trades and industrial callings men and women do not compete for the same work to any considerable extent. Exceptions to this rule are found in the textile industries, in the manufacture of tobacco, of boots and shoes, and in the dry-goods trade. In all of these industries men and women are usually found performing the same work, though their competition is often limited to a few branches of the industry. Where they do not perform the same work, it is impossible to say how far differences in remuneration are due to sex and how far to inequality of work.

In the leading occupations in which women do compete with men for the same work, payment by piece rates seems to be the rule. In such cases the earnings of women are more often equal to those of men than where time wages are paid. Usually, however, the women are inferior to men in the quantity produced.

In occupations where time wages prevail and men and women perform the same work, the lower wages of women can in many instances be explained by a shorter working day for the women than for the men, and by the fact that the competition takes place in the lower grades of efficiency. The women workers naturally tend toward these grades, while the higher grades are filled mainly by men. In such cases the women often earn wages as high as, or even higher, than the men do in these lower grades; but they seldom earn as much as men where the competition takes place in the higher grades.

Woman's natural disadvantage, due to her lower productivity, is increased by the force of custom. Where competitive rates of wages prevail, as in the textile industries of the South, women's wages are often equal to those of men.

In spite of the lower productivity of women, there seems to be a tendency to increase their employment in occupations in which they have been at work, as well as to employ them in new fields of industry. This is partly due to woman's greater tractability. It may also happen that the wages of women are lower, when compared with those of men, than is their productivity. Women's lower standard of living, their partial dependence on other means of support, and their lack of combination prevent them from obtaining their true economic wages.

Finally, it must be repeated that these conclusions apply only to manual work. Doubtless they are in a degree applicable also to the higher callings; but here woman's inferiority is usually less, and the influence of custom, of the standard of living, and of the irregular and temporary character of her employment is much greater. —M. B. HAMMOND, "Women's Wages," in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1900. E. M.